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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
648 will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
563 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
721 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
[123] such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jivaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jivaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jivaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
563 Jivaro and the whites. The Jivaro, with a free land tradition,
648 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land ownership. Besides this, the Jivaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[657] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[797] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jivaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jivaro

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believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jivaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaras de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukra, and governed by Catholicized Jivaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jivaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jivaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huara*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jibaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jivaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-